AN

ESSAY

Towards the Present and Future

Peace

OF

EUROPE

BY THE

Establishment of an *European*

Dyet, Parliament,

Or Estates.

Beati Pacifici.

Cedant Arma Togæ.

Printed, and Sold by *E. Whitlock*, near *Stationers Hall*, 1696.

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TO THE READER.

I *Have undertaken a Subject that I am very sensible requires one of more sufficiency then I am Master of to treat it as, in truth, it deserves, and the groaning state of* Europe *calls for: but since Bunglers may stumble upon the Game as well as Masters, tho' it belongs to the Skilful to hunt and catch it, I hope this Essay will not be charged upon me for a fault, if it appear to be neither Chimerical nor Injurious, and may provoke abler Pens to improve and perform the*

design with better Judgement and success. I will say no more in excuse of my self for this undertaking, but that it is the fruit of my solicitous thoughts, for the Peace of Europe, *and they must want Charity as much as the World needs Quiet, to be offended with me for so* Pacifick *a* Proposal. *Let them censure my Management so they prosecute the Advantage of the Design; for till the* Millenary *Doctrine be accomplished, there is nothing appears to me so beneficial an expedient to the* Peace *and happiness of this Quarter of the World.*

Sect. I.

OF PEACE,

And its Advantages.

HE must not be a Man, but a Statue of Brass or Stone, whose Bowels do not melt when he beholds the bloody Tragedies of this War, in *Hungary*, *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Ireland* and at Sea: The Mortality of sickly and languishing Camps and Navys, and the mighty Prey the Devouring Winds and Waves have made upon Ships and Men since 88. And as this, with reason ought to affect humane Nature, and deeply Kindred, so there is something very moveing that becomes Prudent Men to consider, and that is the vast Charge that has accompanied that Blood, and which makes no mean part of

Tragedies: Especially if they deleberate upon the uncertainty of the War, that they know not how or when it will end, and that the expence cannot be less, and the hazard is as great as before. So that in the Contraries of Peace we see the beauties and benefits of it; which under it, such is the unhappiness of mankind, we are too apt to nautiate, as the full Stomach loaths the Honey Combe; and like that unfortunate Gentleman, that having a fine and good Woman to his Wife, and searching his pleasure in forbidden and less agreeable company, said, when reproacht with his neglect of better Injoyments, that he could love his Wife of all Women, if she were not his Wife, tho' that increased his obligation to prefer her. It is a great mark of the Corruption of our Natures, and what ought to humble us extreamly, and excite the exercise of our Reason to a Nobler and juster sence, that we cannot see the use and pleasure of our Comforts but by the want of them. As if we could not taste the benefit of Health, but by the help of sickness; nor understand the satisfaction of fulness without the instruction of want;

want; nor finally know the comfort of Peace but by the Smart and Pennance of the Vices of War: And without dispute that is not the least reason that God is pleased to Chastise us so frequently with it. What can we desire better then *Peace*, but the *Grace* to use it? *Peace*, Preserves our possessions: we are in no danger of Invasions: Our Trade is free and safe, and we rise and lie down without anxiety. The Rich bring out their Hoards, and employ the poor Manufacturers: Buildings and divers projections, for profit and pleasure go on: It excites Industry, which brings Wealth, as that gives the means of Charity and Hospitality, not the lowest Ornaments of a Kingdom or Common-Wealth. But War, like the Frost of 83. Seizes all these Comforts at once; and Stops the civil Channels of Society. The Rich draw in their Stock, the Poor turn Soldiers, or Thieves, or Starve: No Industry, no Building, no Manufactury; little Hospitality or Charity; but what the Peace gave, the War devours. I need say no more upon this Head, when the Advantages of Peace, and Mischiefs of War are so many and

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sensible to every Capacity under all Governments, as either of them prevails. I shall proceed to the next point. *What is the best means of Peace*, which will conduce much to open my way to what I have to propose.

Sect. II.

Of the Means of Peace, which is JUSTICE *rather then War.*

AS *Justice* is a Preserver, so it is a better procurer of Peace, then War. Tho' *Pax quæritur bello*, be an usual saying, *Peace is the end of War*, and as such it was taken up by O. C. for his Motto: Yet the use Generally made of that expression shows us, that properly and truly speaking, men seek their Wills by War rather then Peace, and that as they will Violate it to obtain them, so they will hardly be brought to think of Peace, unless their appetites be some way gratified. If we look over the Stories

ries of all times, we ſhall find the Aggreſſors generally moved by Ambition; the Pride of Conqueſt and greatneſs of Dominion, more then Right. But as thoſe *Leviathans* appear rarely in the world, ſo I ſhall anon endeavour to make it evident they had never been able to devour the Peace of the World, and engroſs whole Countries as they have done, if the Propoſal I have to make for the benefit of our preſent Age had been then in Practice. The Advantage that Juſtice has upon War is ſeen by the ſucceſs of *Embaſſys*, that ſo often prevent War by hearing the Pleas and Memorials of Juſtice in the Hands and Mouths of the wronged Party. Perhaps it may be in a a good degree owing to Reputation, or Poverty, or ſome particular Intereſt or conveniency of Princes and States as much as Juſtice; but it is certain, that as War cannot in any ſence be juſtified, but upon Wrongs received, and Right, upon Complaint, refuſed; ſo the Generality of Wars have their riſe from ſome ſuch Pretention. This is better ſeen and underſtood at home; for that which prevents Civil War in a Nation is that which may

pre-

prevent it abroad, viz. *Justice*; and we see where that is notably obstructed, War is Kindled between the Magistrates and People in particular Kingdoms and States; which, however it may be unlawful on the side of the People, we see never fails to follow, and ought to give the same Caution to Princes as if it were the right of the People to do it: Tho' I must needs say the remedy is almost ever worse then the disease: The Aggressors seldom getting what they seek, or performing, if they prevail, what they promised: And the Blood and Poverty that usually attend the enterprize, weigh more on Earth, as well as in Heaven then what they lost or suffered, or what they get, by endeavouring to mend their Condition, comes to: Which disappointment seems to be the Voice of Heaven, and Judgement of God against those violent attempts. But to return, I say *Justice is the means of Peace*, betwixt the Government and the People, and one Man and Company and another. It prevents strife, and at last ends it: For besides shame or fear to contend longer, he or they being under Government, are constrained to bound their desires and resent-

resentment with the satisfaction the Law gives. Thus *Peace* is maintained by *Justice*, which is a fruit of *Government*, as *Government*, is from *Society* and *Society* from *Consent*.

Sect. III.

Of GOVERNMENT, *its rise and end under all Modells.*

Government, is an Expedient against Confusion; a Restraint upon all Disorder; Just weights and an even Ballance: That one man may not injure another, nor himself by intemperance.

This was at first without controversie, *Patrimonial*, and upon the death of the Father or Head of the Family, the eldest Son or Male of kin succeeded. But time breaking in upon this way of Governing, as the World multiplyed, it fell under other Claims and Forms: and is as hard to trace to its Original, as it is the Copies we have of the first Writings of Sacred or Civil Mat-

Matters. It is certain the most Natural and hnman is that of *Consent*, for that binds freely (as I may say) when men hold their Liberty by true Obedience to rules of their own making. No man is Judge in his own cause, which ends the Confusion and Blood of so many Judges and Executioners. For out of Society every man is his own King, does what he lists at his own Peril: But when he comes to Incorporate himself, he submits that Royalty to the Conveniency of the whole, from whom he receives the returns of Protection. So that he is not now his own Judge nor Avenger, neither is his Antagonist, but the *Law*, in indifferent Hands between both. And if he be a Servant to others that before was free; he is also served of others that formerly owed him no obligation. Thus while we are not our own, every body is ours, and we get more then we loose; the safety of the Society being the safety of the Particulars that constitute it. So that while we seem to submit to, and hold all we have from Society, it is by Society that we keep what we have.

Government then is the *Prevention* or *Cure*

Cure of diſorder, and the *Means* of Juſtice, as that is of Peace: For this cauſe they have *Seſſions*, *Terms*, *Aſſizes* and *Parliaments*, to over rule mens Paſſions and Reſentments that they may not be Judges in their own Cauſe, nor Puniſhers of their own wrongs, which as it is very incident to men in their corrupt ſtate, ſo, for that reaſon, they would obſerve no meaſure; nor on the other hand would any be eaſily reduced to their Duty. Not that men know not what is right, their exceſſes, and wherein they are to blame; by no means; nothing is plainer to them: But ſo depraved is human nature, that without Compulſion, ſome way or other, too many would not readily be brought to do what they know is right and fit, or avoid what they are ſatisfied they ſhould not do: Which brings me near to the Point I have undertaken; and for the better underſtanding of which I have thus briefly treated of *Peace*, *Juſtice* and *Government*, as a neceſſary Introduction, becauſe the wayes and methods by which Peace is preſerved in particular Governments, will help thoſe *Readers*, moſt concerned in my propoſal, to conceive with what eaſe as well

well as advantage the Peace of *Europe* might be procured and kept; which is the end deſigned by me, with all ſubmiſſion to thoſe Intereſted in this little Treatiſe.

Sect. IV.

Of a General Peace, or the Peace of Europe, *and the means of it.*

IN my firſt Section, I ſhowed the deſirableneſs of *Peace*, in my next the trueſt means of it, to wit, *Juſtice*, not War: And in my laſt, that this Juſtice was the fruit of *Government*, as Government it ſelf was the Reſult of *Society*; which firſt came from a reaſonable deſign in Men of Peace. Now if the *Soveraign Princes of Europe*, who repreſent that Soveraign or Independant ſtate of Men that was previous to the Obligations of Society, would, for the ſame reaſon that engaged Men firſt into Society, *viz. Love of Peace and Order*, agree to meet by their ſtated Deputies in a *General Diet, Eſtates or Parliament*, and there Eſtabliſh

Eſtabliſh Rules of Juſtice for Soveraign Princes to obſerve one to another; and this to meet yearly, or once in two or three years at fartheſt, or as they ſhall ſee cauſe; and to be ſtiled, *The Soveraign or Emperial Diet, Parliament or States of Europe*; before which Soveraign Aſſembly ſhould be brought all differences depending between one Soveraign and another, that cannot be made up by Private Embaſſys before the Seſſion begins; and that if any of the Soveraignties that Conſtitute theſe Imperial States ſhall refuſe to ſubmit their Claim or Pretentions to them, or to abide and perform the Judgment thereof, and ſeek their remedy by Arms, or delay their Compliance beyond the time prefixt in their Reſolutions, all the other Soveraignties, united as one ſtrength, ſhall Compel the Submiſſion and performance of the ſentance, with damages to the ſuffering Party, and Charges to the Soveraignties that obliged their ſubmiſſion; To be ſure *Europe* would quietly obtain the ſo much deſired and needed *Peace* to her harraſſed Inhabitants; no Soveraignty in *Europe* having the Power, and therefore cannot ſhow the will to diſpute

dispute the conclusion; and consequently, *Peace* would be procured and continued in *Europe*.

Sect. V.

Of the Causes of difference and Motives *to Violate* Peace.

THere appears to me but three things upon which Peace is broken, viz. To *Keep*, to *Recover*, or to *Add*. First, to Keep what is ones right from the Invasion of an Enemy; in which I am purely *Defensive*. Secondly, to Recover, when I think my self strong enough, that which by Violence, I or my Ancestors have lost to the Arms of a stronger Power; in which I am Offensive: Or, lastly, to encrease my Dominion by the Acquisition of my Neighbours Countries, as I find them weak and my self strong. To gratifie which Passion there will never want some accident or other for a Pretence: And knowing my own strength I will be my own

own *Judge* and *Carver*. This last will find no Room in the *Imperial States*: They are an unpassable Limit to that ambition. But the other two may come as soon as they please, and find the Justice of that Soveraign Court. And considering how few there are of those Sons of Prey, and how early they show themselves, may be not once in an Age or two, this Expedient being Established, the Ballance cannot well be broken.

Sect. VI.

Of Titles upon which those Differences may arise.

BUt I easily fore-see a Question that may be answered in our way, and that is this; *What is Right? Or else we can never know what is wrong. It is very fit that this should be established.* But that is fitter for the Soveraign States to resolve then me. And yet that I may lead away to the matter, I say that Title is either by a long

and *unaoubted Succession*, as the Crowns of *Spain*, *France* and *England*; or by *Election* as the Crown of *Poland* and the *Empire*; or by *Marriage*, as the Family of the *Stewart* came by *England*, the *Elector of Brandenburgh* to the Dutcy of *Cleve*, and we in Ancient time to divers places abroad; or by *Purchase*, as hath been frequently done in *Italy* and *Germany*; or by Conquest, as the *Turk* in *Christendom*, the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, formerly mostly in the *French* hands; and the *French* in *Burgundy*, *Normandy*, *Lorrain*, *French-County*, *&c.* This last Title is, Morally speaking, only questionable. It has indeed obtained a place among the Rolls of Titles, but it was engrost and recorded by the point of the Sword, and in Bloody Characters. What cannot be controuled or resisted, must be submitted to; but all the World knows the date of the least of such Empires, and that they Expire with the Power of the Possessor to defend them. And yet there is a little allowed to Conquest to, when it has had the Sanction of Articles of Peace to confirm it: Tho' that hath not always extinguished the Fire, but it lies, like Embers under Ashes, ready to kindle so soon

as there is a fit Matter prepared for it. Nevertheless when Conquest has been confirmed by a Treaty and conclusion of Peace, I must confess it is an adopted Title; and if not so genuine and natural, yet being engrafted, it is fed by that which is the security of better Titles, *Consent*. There is but one thing more to be mentioned in this Section, and that is from what time Titles shall take their beginning, or how far back we may look to confirm or dispute them. It would be very bold and inexcusable in me to determine so tender a point, but be it more or less time, as to the last General Peace at *Nimegen*, or to the commencing of *this* War, or to the time of the beginning of the Treaty of Peace; I must submit it to the great pretenders and Masters in that affair. But something every Body must be willing to give or quit, that he may keep the rest, and by this Establishment, be for ever freed of the Necessity of loosing more.

Sect.

Sect. VII.

Of the Composition of these Imperial States.

THE Composition and Proportion of this *Soveraign part or Imperial State*, does, at the first look, seem to carry with it no small Difficulty what Votes to allow for the inequality of the Princes and States. But with submission to better Judgements I cannot think it invincible: For if it be possible to have an estimate of the yearly Value of the several Soveraign Countries, whose Delegates are to make up this August Assembly, the Determination of the Number of Persons or Votes in the States for every Soveraignty will not be impracticable. Now that *England*, *France*, *Spain*, the *Empire*, &c. May be pretty exactly estimated, is so plain a case, by considering the Revenue of Lands, the Exports and Intries at the Custom-Houses, the Books of

of Rates and Surveys that are in all Governments, to proportion Taxes for the ſupport of them, that the leaſt inclination to the Peace of *Europe* will not ſtand or halt at this Objection. I will, with Pardon on all ſides, give an Inſtance far from exact; nor do I pretend to it, or offer it for an Eſtimate; for I do it at Random: Only this, as wide as it is from the juſt Proportion, will give ſome aime to my judicious Reader, what I would be at: Remembring I deſign not by any computation, an Eſtimate from the Revenue of the Prince, but the Value of the Territory; the whole being concerned as well as the Prince. And a Juſter Meaſure it is to go by, ſince one Prince may have more Revenue then another, who has much a Richer Country: Tho' in the Inſtance I am now about to make, the caution is not ſo neceſſary, becauſe, as I ſaid before, I pretend to no manner of Exactneſs, but go wholly by Gueſs, being but for examples ſake. I ſuppoſe the *Empire* of *Germany* to ſend 12. *France* 10. *Spain* 10. *Italy* which comes to *France* 8. *England* 6. *Potugal* 3. *Sweedland* 4. *Denmark* 3. *Poland* 4. *Venice* 3. the ſeven *Provinces* 4. 13.

Cantons and little neighbouring *Soveraignties* 2. Duke of *Holstein* and *Curland* 1. and if the *Turks* and *Muscovites* are taken in, as seems but fit and just, they will make 10 a piece more. The whole makes *Ninety*. A great Presence when they represent the 4*th*. and now the *Best and wealthiest part of the known World*; where *Religion* and *Learning*, *Civility* and *Arts* have their *Seat* and *Empire*. But it is not absolutely necessary there should be always so many Persons, to represent the larger Soveraignties; for the Votes may be given by one man of any Soveraignty as well as by ten or twelve: Tho' the fuller the Assembly of States is, the more solemn, effectual and free the Debates will be; and the resolutions must needs come with greater Authority. The Place of their first Session should be Central, as much as is possible, afterwards as they agree.

Sect

Sect. VIII.

Of the Regulation of the Imperial States in Session.

TO avoid Quarrel for Precedency, the Room may be Round and have divers Doors to come in and go out at, to prevent exceptions. If the whole number be cast into tens, each Chusing one, they may preside by turns; to whom all speeches should be addressed, and who should collect the sence of the Debates, and state the Question for a Vote, which, in my Opinion, should be by the *Ballat*, after the Prudent and commendable Method of the *Venetians*: Which in a great degree, prevents the ill Effects of Corruption; because if any of the Delegates of that high and Mighty Estates could be so Vile, false and dishonourable as to be influenced by Money, they have the advantage of taking their Money that will give it them, and of Voting undiscovered

vered to the Intereſt of their Principals and their own Inclinations; as they that underſtand the *Ballating Box* do very well know. A ſhrode ſtratagem and an experimental Remedy againſt *Corruption*, at leaſt againſt Corrupting: For who will give their Money where they may ſo eaſily be couſened, and where it is two to one they will be ſo, for they that will take Money in ſuch caſes, will not ſtick to Lye heartily to them that give it, rather then wrong their Country, when they know their Lye cannot be detected.

It ſeems to me that nothing in this Imperial Parliament ſhould paſs, but by three quarters of the whole, at leaſt ſeven above the Ballance. I am ſure it helps to prevent Treachery, becauſe if Money could ever be a temptation in ſuch a Court, it would coſt a great deal of Money to weigh down the wrong Scale. All Complaints ſhould be delivered in writing, in the Nature of Memorials; and Journals kept by a proper perſon in a *Trunck* or *Cheſt*, which ſhould have as many differing Locks, as there are Tens in the *States*. And if there were a *Clerk* for each Ten, and a *Pew* or Table for theſe Clerks in the Aſſembly; and

and at the end of every Session, *One* out of each Ten were appointed to examine and Compare the *Journals* of those Clerks, and then lock them up as I have before expressed, it would be clear and Satisfactory: And each Soveraignty if they please, as is but very fit, may have an *Exemplification*, or Coppy of the said Memorials, and the Journals of proceedings upon them. The *Liberty and Rules of Speech*, to be sure, they cannot fail in, who will be the *wisest* and *Noblest* of each Soveraignty, for its own honour and safety. If any Difference can arise between those that come from the same Soveraignty, that then one of the Major Number do give the Balls of that Soveraignty. I should think it extreamly necessary that every Soveraignty should be present under great Penalties, and that none leave the Session without leave, till all be finished; and that Neutralities in Debates should by no means be endured: For any such Latitude will quickly open a way to unfair proceedings, and be followed by a Train both of seen and unseen Inconveniencies. I will say little of the *Language* in which the Session of the *Soveraign Estates* should be

held, but to be sure it must be in *Latine* or *French*: The first would be very well for *Civilians*, but the last most easie for Men of Quality.

Sect. IX.

Of the Objections that may be advanced against the Design.

I Will first give an answer to the Objections that may be offered against my *Proposal*: And in my next and last Section, I shall endeavour to show some of the manifold Conveniencies that would follow this *European League* or *Confederacy*.

The first of them is this, *That the strongest and richest Soveraign will never agree to it; and if it should, there would be danger of Corruption more then of force at one time or other.* I answer to the first part, he is not stronger then all the rest, and for that reason you should promote this and compel

pel him into it; eſpecially before he be ſo; for then it will be too late to deal with ſuch an one. To the laſt part of the Objection, I ſay the way is as open now as then; and it may be the number fewer, and as eaſily come at. However, if men of Sence and Honour and ſubſtance are choſen, they will either ſcorn the baſeneſs, or have wherewith to pay for the Knavery: At leaſt they may be watch't ſo, that one may be a Check upon the other, and all prudently limited by the Soveraignty they Repreſent. In all great points, eſpecially before a final reſolve, they may be obliged to tranſmit to their Principals, the merits of ſuch important caſes depending, and receive their laſt Inſtruction: which may be done in four and twenty dayes at the moſt, as the place of their Seſſion may be appointed.

The Second is, *That it will endanger an Effeminacy by ſuch a diſuſe of the Trade of Soldiery: That if there ſhould be any need for it, upon any occaſion, we ſhould be at a Loſs as they were in Holland in* 72.

There can be no danger of Effeminacy, becauſe each Soveraignty may introduce as Temperate or Severe a diſcipline in

the Education of Youth, as they pleaſe, by low living, and due Labour. Inſtruct them in Mechanical knowledge, and in Natural Philoſophy, by operation, which is the Honour of the *German* Nobility. This would make them Men: Neither *Women* nor *Lyons*: For *Soldiers* are t'other extream to Effeminacy. But the Knowledge of Nature, and the uſeful as well as agreeable operations of Art, give Men an underſtanding of themſelves, of the World they are born into, how to be uſeful and ſerviceable, both to themſelves and others; and how to ſave and help, not injure or deſtroy. The Knowledge of Government in general; the particular conſtitutions of *Europe*; and above all, of his own Country, are very recommending accompliſhments. This fits him for the *Parliament* and *Council* at home, and the *Courts of Princes* and *Services* in the *Imperial States* abroad. At leaſt, he is a good Common-Wealths Man, and can be uſeful to the Publick, or retire, as there may be occaſion.

To the other part of the Objection, *Of being at a leſs for Soldiery as they were in Holland in 72.* The propoſal anſwers for it

it ſelf. One has War no more then the other; and will be as much to ſeek upon occaſion. Nor is it to be thought that any one will keep up ſuch an Army after ſuch an **Umpire** is on foot, which may hazard the ſafety of the reſt. However, if it be ſeen requiſit, the Queſtion may be askt, by order of the Soveraign States, why ſuch an one either raiſes or keeps up a formidable Body of Troops, and he oblieged forthwith to Reform or Reduce them; leaſt any One, by keeping up a great Body of Troops, ſhould ſurprize a Neighbour. But a ſmall force in every other Soveraignty, to what it is either capable or accuſtomed to maintain, will certainly prevent that danger, and Vanquiſh any ſuch fear.

The Third Objection is, *That there will be great want of Employment for Younger Brothers of Families; and that the Poor muſt either turn Soldiers or Thieves.* I have anſwered that in my return to the Second Objection. We ſhall have the more *Merchants* and *Husbandmen*, or *Ingenious Naturaliſts*, if the Government be but any thing Solicitous of the *Education of their Youth*: Which, next to the preſent and

Immediate Happineſs of any Country, ought, of all things, to be the *care* and *skill* of the Government. For ſuch as the Youth of a Country is bred, ſuch is the next Generation, and the Government in good or bad hands.

I am now come to the laſt Objection, *That Soveraign Princes and States will hereby become not Soveraign; a thing they will never endure.* But this alſo, under Correction, is a miſtake; for they remain as Soveraign at home as ever they were. Neither their Power over their People, nor the uſual Revenue they pay them, is diminiſhed: It may be the War-Eſtabliſhment may be reduced, which will indeed of courſe follow, or be better employed to the advantage of the Publick. So that the *Soveraignties*, are as they were; for none of them have now any Soveraignty over one another: And if this be called a leſſening of their Power, it muſt be only becauſe the great Fiſh can no longer eat up the little ones, and that each Soveraignty is *equally defended* from Injuries, and diſabled from committing them. *Cadant Arma Togæ* is a Glorious ſentance; the *Voice of the Dove*; *the Olive Branch of Peace*

Peace. A bleſſing ſo great, that when it pleaſes God to chaſtiſe us ſeverely for our Sins, it is with the *Rod of War*, that, for the moſt part, he whips us: And experience tells us none leaves deeper Marks behind it.

Sect. X.

Of the real Benefits *that flow from this propoſal about* Peace.

I Am come to my laſt Section, in which I ſhall enumerate ſome of thoſe many *real* Benefits that flow from this propoſal, for the preſent and future *Peace* of *Europe*.

Let it not, I pray, be the leaſt, that it prevents the ſpilling of ſo much *Humane and Chriſtian Blood*: for a thing ſo Offenſive to God, and terrible and Afflicting to men, as that has ever been, muſt recommend our Expedient beyond all Objections. For what can a man give in exchange for his Life, as well as his Soul? And tho' the chiefeſt in Government are ſeldom per-

personally exposed, yet it is a duty incumbent upon them to be tender of the Lives of their People; since without all doubt, they are accountable to God for the Blood that is spilt in their Service. So that besides the loss of so many *lives*, of importance to any Government, both for labour and Propogation, the *Cryes* of so many Widows, Parents, and Fatherless are prevented, that cannot be very pleasant in the Ears of any Government, and is the Natural Consequence of War in all Governments.

There is another manifest Benefit which redounds to Christendom by this peaceable Expedient, *The Reputation of Christianity will in some degree, be recovered in the sight of Infidels*; which, by the many bloody and unjust Wars of Christians, not only with them, but one with another, hath been greatly impared. For, to the scandel of that holy Profession, Christians, that Glory in their Saviours Name, have long devoted the Credit and dignity of it to their worldly Passions, as often as they have been excited by the Impulses of Ambition or Revenge. They have not always been in the right: Nor has right been

been the reaſon of War: And not only Chriſtians againſt Chriſtians, but the ſame ſort of Chriſtians have *embrewed their hands in one anothers Blood*: Invoking and Intereſting, all they could, the good and *Merciful* God to *proſper* their Arms to their *Brethrens* deſtruction: Yet their Saviour has told them, *that he came to ſave and not to deſtroy the lives of Men*: To give and Plant Peace among Men: And if in any ſence he may be ſaid to ſend War, it is the *Holy War* indeed; for it is againſt the *Devil* and not the *Perſons of Men*. Of all his Titles this ſeems the moſt Glorious as well as comfortable for us, that he is the Prince of Peace. It is his *Nature*, his *Office*, his *Work*, and the *End* and excelling Bleſſing of his coming, who is both the Maker and Preſerver of our Peace with God. And it is very remarkable, that in all the new Teſtament he is but once called *Lyon*, but frequently the *Lamb of God*; to denote to us his *Gentle*, *Meek* and *Harmleſs Nature*, and that thoſe who deſire to be the *Diſciples* of his *Croſs and Kingdom*, for they are inſeparable, muſt be like him, as St. *Paul*, St. *Peter* and St. *John* tell us. Nor is it ſaid

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the *Lamb* shall lye down with the *Lyon*, but the *Lyon* shall lie down with the *Lamb*. That is, *War* shall yield to *Peace*, and the Soldier turn Hermite. To be sure *Christians* should not be apt to strive, nor *swift to anger* against any Body, and less with one another, and least of all for the uncertain and fading enjoyments of this lower World: And no quality is exempted from this Doctrine. Here is a wide Field for the Reverend Clergy of *Europe* to act their part in, who have so much the possession of Princes and People too. May they recommend and Labour this Pacifick Means I offer, which will end Blood, if not strife; and then *Reason*, upon free debate, will be *Judge*, and not the *Sword*. So that both *Right* and *Peace*, which are the desire and fruit of wise Governments, and the choice blessings of any Country, seem to succeed the Establishment of this Proposal.

The Third Benefit, is that it saves *Money*, both to the Prince and People; and thereby prevents those Grutchings and Misunderstandings between them that are wont to follow the devouring expences of War; and enables both to perform Publick

lick Acts for *Learning*, *Charity*, *Manufactories*, &c. The Virtues of Government and Ornaments of Countries. Nor is this all the advantage that follows to *Sovereignties* upon this head of *Money* and *Good Husbandry*, to whose service and happiness this short Discourse is dedicated; for it saves the great expence that frequent and splendid Embassies require, and all their Appenages, of *Spies* and *Intelligence*, which in the most prudent Governments have devoured mighty Sums of Money; and that not without some immoral Practices also: Such as *Corrupting* of Servants to betray their Masters by revealing their Secrets; not to be defended by Christian or Old *Roman* Virtue. But here, where there is nothing to fear, there is little to know, and therefore the Purchase is either cheap, or may be wholly spared. I might mention *Pensions* to the *Widows* and *Orphans* of such as dye in Wars, and of those that have been *disabled* in them; which rise *high* in the Revenue of some Countries.

Our Fourth Advantage is, that the *Towns, Cities and Countries that might be laid waste by the Rage of War, are thereby preserved*

ved: A blassing that would be very well understood in *Flanders* and *Hungary*, and indeed upon all the Borders of Soveraignties, which are almost ever the *Stages* of Spoile and Misery; of which the stories of *England* and *Scotland* do sufficiently inform us without looking over the Water.

The Fifth Benefit of this Peace, is the *Ease and Security of Travel and Traffick*: An Happiness never understood since the *Roman Empire* has been broken into so many *Soveraignties*. But we may easily conceive the Comfort and advantage of Travelling through the Governments of *Europe* by a *Pass* from any of the *Soveraignties* of it, which this League and State of Peace will naturally make Authentick. They that have Travelled *Germany*, where is so great a number of *Soveraignties*, know the want and value of this Priviledge, by the many *Stops* and *Examinations* they meet with by the way: But especially such as have made the *great Tower* of *Europe*. This leads to the benefit of an *Universal Monarchy*, without the Inconveniencies that attend it: For when the whole was one *Empire*, tho' these advantages were

were enjoyed, yet, the ſeveral *Provinces* that now make the *Kingdoms* and *States* of *Europe*, were under ſome hardſhips from the great ſums of *Money* remitted to the Imperial Seat, and the *Ambition* and *Avarice* of their ſeveral *Proconſuls* and *Governours*, and the great *Taxes* they paid to the numerous *Legions* of *Soldiers* that they maintained for their own ſubjection; who were not wont to entertain that concern for them (being uncertainly there, and having their fortunes to make) which their reſpective and proper *Soveraigns* have alwayes ſhown for them. So that to be Ruled by *Native Princes or States*, with the advantage of that Peace and Security that can only render an *Univerſal Monarchy* deſirable, is peculiar to our propoſal, and for that reaſon it is to be preferred.

Another advantage is, the *Great ſecurity it will be to Chriſtians againſt the Inroads of the Turk in their moſt proſperous fortune.* For it had been impoſſible for the *Port* to have prevailed ſo often, and ſo far upon Chriſtendom, but by the careleſneſs or wilful connivance, if not aide, of ſome *Chriſtian Princes*. And for the ſame reaſon

son why no *Christian Monarch* will adventure to oppose or break such an Union, the *Grand-Seignior* will find himself obliged to concur for the security of what he holds in *Europe*: Where, with all his strength, he would feel it an over-match for him. The *Prayers*, *Tears*, *Treason*, *Blood* and *Devestation*, that War has cost in *Christendom*, for these two last Ages Especially, must add to the credit of our Proposal, and the blessing of the *Peace* thereby humbly recommended.

The seventh advantage of an *European*, *Imperial Dyet*, *Parliament* or *Estates*, is that it will beget and encrease *Personal Friendship between Princes and States*; which tends to the rooting up of Wars and planting Peace in a deep and fruitful Soyle. For Princes have the Curiosity of seeing the Courts and Cities of other Countries as well as private men, if they could as securely and familiarly gratifie their Inclinations. It were a great motive to the tranquility of the World, that they could freely converse face to face, and personally and reciprocally give and receive marks of Civility and Kindness. An *Hospitality* that leaves these Impressions behind

hind it, will hardly let ordinary Matters prevail to miſtake or Quarrel one another. Their *Emulation* would be in the Inſtances of *Goodneſs*, *Laws*, *Cuſtoms*, *Learning*, *Arts*, *Buildings*; and in Particular thoſe that relate to *Charity*, the true Glory of ſome Governments, where Beggers are as much a rarity, as in other places it would be to ſee none.

Nor is this all the benefit that would come by this *Freedom* and *Interview* of Princes: For *Natural Affection* would hereby be preſerved, which we ſee little better then loſt from the time their *Children* or *Siſters* are Married into other Courts. For the preſent State and Inſecurity of Princes forbid them the Enjoyment of that Natural Comfort which is poſſeſt by Private Families: Inſomuch, that from the time a Daughter or Siſter is Married to another Crown, Nature is ſubmitted to Intereſt, and that, for the moſt part, grounded not upon ſolid or commendable Foundations, but *Ambition*, or an *Unjuſt Avarice*. I ſay this freedom that is the effect of our Pacifick Propoſal, reſtores *Nature* to her juſt right and dignity in the Families of Princes, and them

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to the Comfort she brings wherever she is preserved in her proper station. Here *Daughters* may Personal entreat their *Parents*, and *Sisters* their *Brothers*, for a good understanding between them and their *Husbands*, where Nature, not crusht by absence and Siniſter Intereſts, but active by the sight and lively Entreaties of such near Relations, is almost sure to prevail. They cannot easily resist the most affectionate Addresses of such powerful Soliciters, as their *Children* and *Grand-Children*, and their *Sisters*, *Nephews* and *Neices:* And so backwards from *Children to Parents*, and *Sisters* to *Brothers*, to keep up and preserve their own Families, by a good understanding between their Husbands and them.

To conclude this Section, there is yet another Manifest Priviledge that follows this *Intercourse* and good understanding, which methinks should be very moving with Princes, *viz. That hereby they may choose Wives for themselves*; such as they love, and not by *Proxy*, meerly to gratifie Interest; an Ignoble motive; and that rarely begets or continues that *Kindness* which ought to be between Men and their Wives

Wives. A satisfaction very few Princes ever knew, and to which all other pleasures ought to resign. Which has often obliged me to think that *The Advantage of private Men upon Princes, by Family Comforts, is a sufficient Ballance against their greater Power and Glory*: The one being more in *Imagination* then *real*, and often *Unlawful*; but the other, *Natural*, *Solid*, and *Commendable*. Besides it is certain, Parents loving well before they are Married, which very rarely happens to Princes, *has kind and generous Influences upon their Offspring*: Which, with their example, makes them better Husbands and Wives in their turn. This, in Great Measure prevents unlawful *Love*, and the Misciefs of those Intreagues that are wont to follow them? What *Hatred*, *Feuds*, *Wars*, and *Desolations* have, in divers Ages, flown from *Unkindness* between *Princes* and their *Wives*? What *unnatural Divisions* among their Children, and Ruine to their Families, if not loss of their Countries by it? Behold an expedient to prevent it, a Natural and Efficacious one: Happy to Princes, and happy to their People also. For Nature being renewed and strengthened

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by theſe mutual pledges and endearments, I have mentioned, will leave thoſe ſoft and kind Impreſſions behind in the minds of Princes, that *Court* and *Country* will very eaſily diſcern and feel the Good Effects of it: Eſpecially if they have the Wiſdom to ſhow that they Intereſt themſelves in the Proſperity of the Children and Relations of their Princes. For it does not only incline them to be good, but engage thoſe Relations to become powerful Sutors to their Princes for them, if any Miſunderſtanding ſhould unhappily ariſe between them and their *Soveraigns*. Thus ends this Section. It now reſts to conclude the Diſcourſe, in which, if I have not pleaſed my *Reader*, or anſwered his expectation, it is ſome comfort to me I meant well, and have coſt him but little money and time; and brevity is an Excuſe, if not a Virtue, where the ſubject is not agreeable, or is but ill proſecuted.

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The Conclusion.

I will Conclude this my *Proposal* of an *European*, *Soveraign*, or *Imperial Dyet*, *Parliament* or *Estates*, with that which I have toucht upon before, and which falls under the notice of every one concerned, by coming home to their Particular and Respective experience within their own *Soveraignties*. That the same *Rules of Justice and Prudence*, by which Parents and Masters Govern their Families, and Magistrates their Cities, and Estates their Republicks, and Princes and Kings their Principalities and Kingdoms, *Europe* may Obtain and preserve *Peace* among her Soveraignties. For Wars are the *Duels* of Princes; and as Government in Kingdoms and States prevents men being *Judges and Executioners for themselves*, overrules private Passions as to Injuries or Revenge, and Subjects the Great as well as the small to the Rule of Justice, that Power might not Vanquish or Oppress Right, nor one Neighbour act an *Inde-*

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pendency and Soveraignty upon another, while they have resigned that Original Claim to the benefit and Comfort of Society; so this being soberly weighed in the whole and parts of it, it will not be hard to conceive or frame, nor yet to execute, the design I have here proposed.

And for the better understanding and perfecting of the *Idea* I here present to the *Soveraign Princes and Estates of Europe*, for the safety and Tranquility of it, I must recommend to their Perusals, *Sir William Temple's Account of the United Provinces*; which is an Instance and answer, upon *Practice*, to all the Objections that can be advanced against the Practicability of my Proposal: Nay it is an Experiment that not only comes up to our Case, but exceeds the difficulties that can render its accomplishment disputable. For there we shall find *Three degrees* of Soveraignties to make up every Soveraignty in the *General States*. I will reckon them backwards: First the *States General* themselves: Then the *Immediate Soveraignties* that constitute them, which are those of the *Provinces*; answerable to the *Soveraignties* of *Europe*, that by their *Deputies* are to compose

pose the *European Dyet*, *Parliament* or *Estates* in our Proposal: And then there are the several Cities of each *Province*, that are so many *Independant* or *distinct* Soveraignties, which compose those of the *Provinces*, as *Those* of the Provinces do compose the *States General* at the *Hague*.

But I confess I have the passion to wish heartily that the honour of proposing and effecting so great and good a design might be owing to *England*, of all the Countries in *Europe*, as something of the nature of our expedient was, in design and preparation, to the Wisdom, Justice, and Valour of *Henry* the *fourth of France*; whose superior Qualities raising his Character above those of his Ancestors or Contemporaries, deservedly gave him the Stile of *Henry the Great*. For he was upon *Obliging the Princes and Estates of Europe to a Politick Ballance*, when the *Spanish Faction*, for that reason, contrived, and accomplished his *Murder* by the hands of *Ravillack*. I will not then fear to be censured for proposing an *Expedient* for the Present and future Peace of *Europe*, when it was not only the *Design* but *Glory* of one of the Greatest Princes that ever reigned in it;

and is found practicable in the conſtitution of one of the wiſeſt and Powerfulleſt States of it. So that to conclude, I have very little to anſwer for in all this affair; becauſe, if it ſucceed, I have ſo little to deſerve: For this great *King's Example* tells us it is fit to be done; and Sir *W. Temple's* Hiſtory ſhews us, by a Surpaſſing Inſtance, that it may be done; and *Europe*, by her incomparable Miſeries, makes it now neceſſary to be done; that my ſhare is only thinking of it at this Juncture, and putting it into the Common Light for the Peace and Proſperity of *Europe*.

N I S.

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